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ABSTRACT

Recruiting and retaining good teachers has recently reemerged as an important policy concern on the national agenda, as shortages of qualified teachers have appeared in a number of regions around the country. This four-section report addresses the recruitment and retention of teachers. The first section considers the shortage of high quality teachers, proposed explanations, and how teacher personnel policies are a strategic area for addressing the problem. The second section describes the samples and data drawn upon to provide insights into a broad array of teacher personnel policies and practices. Section three examines important features shaped by teacher personnel policies, factors which may mediate these policies in important ways, and possible consequences of those policies. The final section offers hypotheses about how various teacher personnel policies may have significant educational consequences. (CB)

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TEACHER PERSONNEL POLICIES AND
POSSIBLE OUTCOMES IN FOUR TYPES
OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS

NIE Grant No. NIE-G-83-0040

Final Report

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Recruiting and retaining good teachers has recently re-emerged as an important policy concern on the national agenda, as shortages of qualified teachers have appeared in a number of regions around the country. This report addresses the recruitment and retention of teachers in four sections. The first section considers the shortage of quality teachers, proposed explanations, and how teacher personnel policies are a strategic site for addressing the problem. The second section describes the samples and data drawn upon here to provide insights into a broad array of teacher personnel policies and practices. Section three examines important features shaped by teacher personnel policies, factors which may mediate these policies in important ways, and possible consequences of those policies. The fourth and final section offers hypotheses about how various teacher personnel policies may have significant educational consequences.

I. THE PROBLEM

Recently a consensus has emerged that the United States may be facing a shortage of high quality teachers, particularly in certain subjects and in certain regions of the country. If indeed this is the case, such a situation has serious implications for both educational excellence and educational equity. Equity issues are closely intertwined with concerns about excellence. Teacher shortages do not occur equally throughout all schools. Schools with large numbers of low income or minority pupils and schools with low levels of fiscal support have traditionally fared worse in the competition for teachers.

Maintaining and improving excellence in educational practice requires a continuing supply of high quality, effective teachers. To deal with this issue, we need to examine three sets of questions:

- A. What evidence suggests that there is a shortage of high quality teachers?
- B. What explanations have been offered for this shortage?
- C. How might teacher personnel policies address the problem of attracting and retaining high quality teachers?

A. Evidence That There is a Shortage of High Quality Teachers

Several strong strands of evidence suggest that there is a major problem with the quality of teachers and perhaps with the quantity as well. Both the quality of people planning to teach and the numbers may have declined. To assess the quality of teachers, three populations can be considered: 1) those who plan to teach, 2) those who are actually hired to teach, and 3) those who remain in teaching. The enrollment in teacher education programs across the country dropped 50 percent between 1972 and 1980 (National Education Association, 1981, p. 5). College freshmen in 1982 were less interested in becoming teachers than at any time in the last 17 years, according to the American Council on Education and the University of California at Los Angeles (Astin et al., 1983). In 1966, 21.7 percent of entering college freshmen in the United States were planning careers in teaching. In 1982, however, only 4.7 percent of freshmen aspired to teaching careers (Maeroff, 1983, p. 28).

Among those who do become education majors, their test scores on all types of standardized national tests have declined. This was true on the American College Test, Graduate Record Exam, National Teacher Exam, and Scholastic Aptitude Tests. The grade point averages of education majors also declined during this period (Weaver, 1981). This decline is significant because a number of researchers have found that the verbal ability of teachers as measured by such tests is related to the verbal ability of students (Coleman et al., 1966; Guthrie et al., 1971; Ryans, 1960). Moreover, as Weaver (1981) suggests, it seems reasonable to expect that those who try to teach literacy to the young are themselves literate.

Not only is the quality of those choosing to major in education declining, but the people who are actually hired have lower scores than those who are not hired for teaching jobs (Perry, 1981; Weaver, 1979). Finally, Schlechty and Vance (1981) found that teachers with higher measures of academic ability were more likely to leave teaching than were teachers with lower academic ability. This evidence suggests that education faces a critical problem of attracting and keeping high quality teachers.

Although Sweet and Jacobsen (1983) suggest that the demand for new teachers in the next decade or two will be due mainly to teacher turnover rather than to rising enrollments, the increase in births since 1976 indicates that school enrollments will continue to increase for some time to come. Sweet and Jacobsen (1983) call for further research in two areas: 1) the utilization and attrition of teacher personnel and 2) career opportunities and working conditions for teachers. Their concern is underscored by Schlechty and Vance who stress that the ability of education "to recruit academically able teachers and/or to select teachers from among the academically able depends in large measure on the ability of schools to provide environments and career opportunities that are attractive to the academically able in the first place" (1982, p. 36).

B. Proposed Explanations for the Shortage

The work of both of the above investigators points to the importance of working conditions in schools and the nature of teaching as a career as possible explanations for a decline in the quality of people recruited to and retained in teaching. Before assuming this is the only explanation for a shortage of high quality teachers, it is worth examining several other explanations.

At least three major explanations have been offered for the declining number and quality of people choosing teaching as a career. First, women are much less likely to enter teaching careers today than they were in the past. When teaching was one of the few careers that women could consider, large numbers of bright and ambitious women moved into teaching. Now such women are drawn into careers in higher education, law, business and medicine. This exodus of high quality women candidates is evident in the National Teachers Examination Scores of North Carolina Teachers. Between 1973 and 1980, the proportion of high scoring women dropped substantially while the proportion of high scoring men remained unchanged (Schlechty and Vance, 1981, p. 108).

Aside from losing a major source of talented teachers, education has declined in financial rewards relative to other occupational fields. In the last decade there has been a steady decline in the relative

income position of teachers. In 1970-71 teachers earned 27 percent above the average full-time employee, in 1974 their salaries had slipped to 12 percent above average, and in 1983 their salaries were only 7 percent above those of the average employee (Freeman, 1976; United States Bureau of the Census, 1984, p. 141, 416).

Teacher personnel policies can do little to change the growth of alternative career options for college-educated women. They can, however, address a third reason that has been offered for the shortage of high quality teachers, namely, the nature of the work environments and the career opportunities available in teaching. This problem has been thoughtfully analyzed by Lortie (1975), who identified a number of features of the teaching occupation that may reduce its attractiveness to individuals choosing careers. First, is the relatively "flat" career line in teaching, with little chance to progress to higher levels of responsibility and prestige based on experience and accomplishments without leaving teaching altogether. Second, is the relative isolation of teaching. Teachers work in their own insular classrooms, with little chance to share professional concerns with other adults, according to Lortie (1975). Third, is uncertainty over how one is doing, an uncertainty that is exacerbated by isolation and by the multiplicity and vagueness of educational goals. Fourth, is the frustration over being thwarted in their efforts to focus on instructional activities. These features limit teaching in terms of the rewards it can offer members of the occupation.

Some of Lortie's insights are supported by Gupta (1981) who found that teachers experienced more stress and job dissatisfaction when they had too much work, faced unclear or unpredictable demands, and felt they had inadequate resources to do their job. This condition is certainly not unique to teachers, but the question it suggests in reference to teacher personnel policies is have the conditions under which teachers work changed in recent years?

Kerr believes that there is something in the way teaching is structured as an occupation that continues to drive teachers away (1983, p. 143). Lightfoot agrees and suggests that we need to "think about restructuring the social contexts and networks in which teachers function. In order to increase collegiality and mutual support among faculty, schools will have to provide more opportunities for co-teaching, encourage collective curriculum development, and redefine status

hierarchies between administrators and teachers that typically infantilize the latter" (1983, p. 258). She goes on to specify what she sees as the source of teachers' discontent: "my interviews and observations of teachers in recent years reveal a malaise that comes not from overwork, but from feelings of disconnection with the intellectual and psychic center of the educational process. Their complaints can be interpreted as requests for greater participation in school life, greater ownership of their work, and support from sources beyond the school. They seem to be asking, therefore, to be regarded as adults with human needs, not paragons of virtue; to have responsibility and power; to join with others in defining contemporary values for students" (1983, p. 258).

In addition to dissatisfaction with the organization of teaching as an occupation, Sykes suggests that "policymakers and educators must improve the rewards of teaching as a necessary step toward the improvement of education" (1983, p. 115).

C. Teacher Personnel Policies as a Site for Intervention

The thoughts of these scholars and our own observations suggest that certain personnel policies may be importantly related to both recruitment and retention of good teachers. Policies may be examined on at least four levels: the classroom level, the school level, the local district level, and the state education agency level, as Roberts and Smith (1982) remind us. This report focuses primarily on the school level of educational policy. These policies are, presumably, within a school's control, to some degree at least.

II. SAMPLE AND DATA

As part of a larger study, we visited 60 public and private secondary schools, between 1978 and 1983. Among the areas we investigated were teacher personnel policies. While the schools we visited were in no sense typical of American public schools, they did allow us to observe a wide variety of secondary school personnel policies and to discover some interesting policies that we had not seen in operation elsewhere. In this section we describe the four types of schools

that were sampled, and indicate the kinds of interview, observational, questionnaire, and record data that we collected.

A. Sample

The 60 schools we visited varied with respect to public or private control and on another key factor, namely their selectivity. Nine were public and 51 were private schools. There were three selective public schools in the sample, each of which uses somewhat different criteria for selection. One, based in a large metropolitan area, administers a city-wide test to eighth and ninth grade students who are recommended by their junior high schools. Students are admitted on the basis of their scores on that test. A second school also uses tests, but selects students in the fifth rather than the ninth grade. A third school uses a combination of teacher recommendations, test scores, grades, excellence in science and/or mathematics, written applications, and interviews to select students.

The selective public schools are academically oriented, send most of their students to college, are racially and economically mixed and range in size from 200 students to 2500 students. One of these public schools enrolls only boarding students. The other two are day schools. They all must deal with state education department regulations regarding teacher certification.

The six non-selective public schools admit anyone who lives in their catchment areas, which are diverse economically and racially. The non-selective public schools range in size from 400 to 3000. Most are unionized but they vary in terms of the degree of union influence over school policy.

The 22 selective private schools have two or more applicants for every student they accept, they cost between \$6,000 and \$10,000 per year in 1983, they give scholarships to about 20 percent of the students who attend, and the Secondary School Admissions Test scores of the students who attend are well above average. All but three of these schools have both day and boarding students. These three have only boarding students. The selective private schools are similar to the selective public schools in their academic and college

orientations, although they surpass them in facilities. They are less mixed, in general, with respect to race and social class, although there are some schools which are exceptions to this pattern. They range in size from 300 to 1250 students. Although none of the selective private schools have teachers unions, they vary widely with respect to the degree of faculty influence and control over school policy.

The 29 less selective private schools have fewer than two applicants for each opening. They cost about the same as the selective private schools and many families self-select away from such schools because of cost. The relatively unselective private schools are academically oriented, but the academic pressure is lower than at the selective schools. The schools are somewhat ethnically and economically mixed. They range in size from 200 to 1200, in racial composition from about one third black and minority to 90 percent white, and in socio-economic composition from lower middle class and working class to upper middle class. Ten of these are day schools and have no boarding students, 19 have a mixture of day and boarding students.

B. Data

For all 60 schools we have field data from site visits. These visits involved spending anywhere from one to five days at each school, observing classes, doing depth interviews with teachers, administrators, the principal or head of the school, and the dean of faculty if there was one, and talking with students. Altogether we have done more than 400 interviews with teachers and administrators, including at least six at each school we visited.

We made one period observations of more than 100 English and history classes, averaging two or three at each of the schools visited. We observed these subjects because they are required of all students and because both writing and reasoning are important aspects of education. The classroom observations provide indicators, for example, of how well class time was used, whether or not classes began on time, how attentive students were, the tone of voice used by teachers in speaking to students, how frequently teachers praised students or were negative toward them, what kinds of texts were used, and whether or not all students were expected to be prepared. These teacher

behaviors have been identified by researchers as positively related to student learning.

Interviews with administrators at the 60 schools included questions about their own backgrounds and careers, how they recruit teachers, what they look for in the teachers they hire, how they evaluate faculty, how they encourage staff development, and rewards and incentives they feel they can offer teachers. Teachers were asked about their own background, education, and experiences, how they got their jobs, their participation in various types of educational decision-making, what their greatest satisfactions and frustrations were in their work, and how teacher evaluation and faculty development was handled.

For 20 of the private schools in the sample we have additional data from a questionnaire that Cookson administered in 1978-79. The questionnaire was completed by 382 teachers (a different sample from those who were interviewed). The questionnaires focus on the issue of teacher evaluation, faculty development, personal background, and desirable qualities in teachers and administrators. (See Appendix for a copy of the Teacher Questionnaire.) Although this sample is not a random sample of all private school teachers, we know from a variety of sources that it is not unlike the larger population in terms of sex, age, educational background, years of teaching, and career goals. As a group, the sample represents a good cross-section of faculty with mature, well-educated, and experienced teachers predominating. In addition, the heads of those 20 schools were interviewed in more detail about faculty evaluation. (See Interview Schedule for Administrators in the Appendix.)

In addition to classroom observations, depth interviews with teachers and administrators, and the survey of teachers, we conducted 2,779 useable surveys of freshmen and seniors at 24 of the schools visited, in two different studies. For 1035 of the seniors we also obtained school record data including their grades, Scholastic Aptitude Test scores, and the names of the colleges to which they applied, were accepted, and were attending.

III. IMPORTANT FEATURES TO EXAMINE

The first issue to consider when exploring how teacher personnel politics might affect the recruitment and retention of quality teachers is what are the important features to study. Some possibilities were

suggested in the literature reviewed in section one of this report. That literature, prior research on effective principals (e.g., Greenfield, 1982; Persell and Cookson, 1982), and our preliminary field work suggest a number of important features. These include ones which are shaped by teacher personnel policies such as recruitment, incentives and rewards, disincentives, career engagement, faculty development, and faculty evaluation. They also include features that may mediate a school's policies, including school culture and unionization. Finally, they may include possible consequences of such policies, for example, teacher satisfaction and student outcomes including perception of their teachers as caring, test scores, educational aspirations, and college attendance. In this section we describe some of what we have learned about these features.

A. Features Shaped by Personnel Policies

TEACHER RECRUITMENT. "A national survey taken in a sample of 171 primary schools in England indicated that quality of teachers -- as measured by their degrees of responsibility in the school, experience, in-service training, and outside valuation -- was more closely related to student achievement than any other variable assessed," according to Corwin (1974). If this finding is generalizable, the issue of who enters teaching is a critical one.

What qualities are considered most important in the hiring of new teachers? An early issue in teacher recruitment is defining the pool of eligible candidates. How do personnel policies expand or restrict the definition of who is eligible? Do policies try to activate interest in people who have not yet decided to become teachers? If so, how do they do that?

Once a pool of candidates has been defined, the issue is how do teacher personnel policies affect the way a school recruits its teachers? Do schools actively seek out teachers they might find desirable or do they passively wait to get a list of candidates from, for example, the board of education? Put another way, do recruitment policies allow schools to choose teachers based on criteria they define as relevant for their school, or are teachers simply thrust upon them?

Given the importance of the intelligence of teachers for student learning noted in Preston (1984), who is recruited and what their academic background is becomes an important question. How much discretion does a principal and/or department chair have in his/her recruitment decisions? Can they look for teachers that fit their programs and needs? What limits their discretion? Have any schools facing such constraints found ways to deal with them? These were some of the questions that we brought to our study of recruitment policies.

As a result of our research, we have five major findings regarding teacher recruitment policies:

1. Schools vary considerably with respect to the amount of active effort they expend on recruiting.
2. Teacher certification plays very different roles in public and private schools.
3. Schools vary noticeably with respect to how much they emphasize personal qualities in the teachers they select.
4. Some schools utilize a very interesting recruitment strategy, namely offering teaching internships to recent college graduates.
5. The qualities of people recruited into teaching vary markedly across schools.

One of the major differences in recruitment policies concerned the amount of active effort a school made to attract and hire teachers they found desirable. All of the private schools and all of the selective public schools made major efforts. In one of the large public selective high schools which is unionized, the school has to consider people in terms of their seniority on the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) list and in the Board of Education pool. Nonetheless, the chairs of the various departments play an active role in the recruitment process. Several department chairs said they had heard about someone they thought would be a good teacher. Sometimes that person came to see them, wrote to them, or someone recommended a teacher to them. In such a situation the Department Chair could ask the Central School Board for a particular teacher by name. They are not always able to get the people they want, since to be able to hire a prospective teacher he or she needs to have "every license -- city and state," and some good prospects do

not. Even within a unionized and highly bureaucratized city school system, this school found ways to play an active role in recruiting the faculty they wanted to hire.

Another selective public high school was recently started and was therefore able to be very active in their faculty recruitment. When the school prepared to open, they already had a file of letters from interested teachers who had written when they read about the school in the paper. Nevertheless, this school advertised in the major papers in the state, in the New York Times education supplement, and in the Chronicle of Higher Education. They had hundreds of candidates for every position. The school was constituted in such a way that they are not required by law to hire state certified teachers, although most of their teachers are certified. Some have Ph.D.s rather than teaching certificates, and some taught in college before coming there. The principal formed a Selection Committee of in-house staff and outsiders to screen the applicants. They always interviewed five or six people for each position they filled. Their flexibility regarding certification enlarged the pool of candidates they were able to consider, a policy that other public high schools seemed unable to follow.

Many nonselective public high schools seem unable to play any active role in teacher recruitment. The Board of Education's Bureau of Personnel sends the school the names of available teachers when they have a vacancy. "We can do nothing to indicate our preferences," and the process "is very distasteful," said the vice principal in charge of personnel at one such school.

All of the private schools were actively involved in the recruitment of teachers. None of them required certification. In the absence of a formal certification requirement, schools seem to spend more time articulating what criteria they seek in the teachers they hire. All the selective private schools and most of the other private schools valued advanced study (usually an M.A.) in the subject to be taught, as did all of the selective high schools and one-half of the other public schools.

Schools differ significantly in their emphasis on the personal qualities of teachers. All of the private school heads but only about half of the public school principals said that they looked for personal qualities in the teachers they hired. One selective private school indicated that first of all teacher candidates

must look qualified on paper -- in terms of their application, cover letter, and letters of recommendation. A person's academic background is important. In some departments, contending candidates are asked to give a sample lesson. The senior faculty of each department interviews candidates. They are asked to put forward their three top choices, and those three are interviewed by the principal and the vice principal. The vice principal interviews all three and discusses them with the department and the principal. The vice principal said he looks for "personality" in a candidate, for someone who will have a "positive impact on kids, is excited about teaching kids, and excited about his or her subject." He wants "someone who will set kids on fire," although he didn't say how he detected this quality. Personal qualities can only be sought when schools have some control over the teachers they hire.

One of the recruitment strategies we observed in private schools was the use of teaching internships as a method of recruiting recent college graduates into secondary school teaching. Perhaps some public schools use this strategy as well, but we do not know of any that do. In general, internship programs are available to new or recent college graduates without teaching experience or credentials. They are offered a stipend (perhaps \$4,000 to \$8,000 in 1983) plus room and board to spend a year in a boarding school. They are expected to teach a reduced course load (perhaps one or two courses a term) under the supervision of a more senior teacher, to coach a sport, and perhaps be a dorm advisor. Toward the end of that year the intern may be offered a regular teaching position at that school or somewhere else. The internship year allows people who have not considered teaching as a career to try it out under somewhat protected circumstances. If the school has a well-developed program for several interns each year, or if an intern has a good mentor, he or she may learn quite a bit about teaching. The experience gives the intern and the school a chance to look each other over without obligation on either one's part to continue the arrangement for more than a year. We wonder if a modified version of this internship program might be usable in public schools.

Public and private schools attract teachers with quite different social characteristics, perhaps because of teacher self-selection and different methods of recruiting. In the survey of 382 teachers at 20 private schools, Cookson found that about 75 percent have attended a private college and many of them were graduates of Ivy League and other highly selective

colleges. At one, 25 out of 80 teachers were Ivy League graduates, 11 coming from Harvard. Sixty percent of private school teachers had a masters degree and 5 percent had Ph.D.'s. A high proportion of private school teachers are private school graduates and some are scholars who hold academic chairs at the schools. Public school teachers are much more likely to have attended public high schools and public colleges or universities (Cookson and Persell, 1978).

Not only are private school teachers well educated, but they often come from professional families and bring varied experience to their jobs. They may have spent time in the Peace Corps, lived in Europe, written a book, or built their own boat. Two-thirds of private school teachers are male, which contrasts with public schools, where men comprise only a little more than half of all secondary school teachers (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984, 151).

INCENTIVES. Lortie (1975), Sykes (1983), and others have noted some incentives that draw people into teaching, including interest in working with other people, a sense of doing something worthwhile, the time compatibility of teaching with family life or other interests such as travel, and the relatively easy entry into teaching. The material rewards and job security of teaching that were mentioned as attractive features two decades ago have been reduced in recent years, at the same time that young people are more likely to indicate that making a lot of money is "very important" to them (Astin et al., 1983).

While we do not have systematic data on the rewards and incentives that draw people to teaching in the four types of schools, we do have some hints from comments and statements they made. Teachers in selective public schools often comment on the special purpose of the school and how they were attracted by it, as well as upon the special qualities of the students they teach. Schools of this type which have been in existence for a while may draw some of their alumni as teachers.

One such school was able to offer extra financial incentives to teachers, in addition to the intrinsic satisfactions they offered. Their teachers are paid according to a state-wide scale, but the teachers also receive a supplement since they hold evening tutorials as well as teaching classes in the daytime. In 1983, the range was \$16,000 to \$30,000. The Department Chairs are 12-month rather than 9-month employees, so they receive higher salaries.

The non-selective public schools seem to have fewer "magnets," as Sykes calls them. The incentives expressed by several teachers in one school were more modest. They seem to get their greatest satisfaction out of doing their jobs in a responsible manner. They indicated pride in the fact that they are teachers and seem to be struggling to do their jobs in the face of a number of significant difficulties.

Teachers in private schools describe teaching there as "a way of life," a "calling" or a "vocation." As one said, "Where else can you teach in the mornings, play games in the afternoon, and read for yourself and your classes in the evening?" At selective private schools teachers spoke of their satisfactions in seeing young people develop. Sometimes they felt more satisfaction from seeing students who were having difficulty begin to overcome their problems than from working with the brightest students.

Well-endowed, selective private schools could offer a number of informal rewards and satisfactions as well. Teachers there reported that they like the variety of activities -- sports, cultural events, and teaching. They like the people they work with. They like the bright, motivated students, and they find the close relationships they are able to have with students outside of class to be very enjoyable. Some reported finding it very gratifying to see 14-year-olds mature during the course of a year. They feel their schools are supportive of high academic standards. The faculty also commented on the pleasure of working in such beautiful surroundings, and on the prestige they felt they had by virtue of teaching at their school.

DISINCENTIVES. Teachers in private schools expressed fewer discouragements with teaching conditions than did teachers in public schools. They did, however, mention some economic disincentives in teaching. We have no basis for ascertaining the frequency with which teachers in either sector perceive these disincentives. Instead, these qualitative comments might serve as the basis for a more systematic investigation of disincentives for teaching.

In selective and other private schools a number of people reported that newer teachers in private schools are more concerned about pay, benefits, and housing arrangements than teachers in the past were. The effects of inflation over the past 15 years have particularly hurt people who did not build equity in their own homes, and this situation is quite common for people who live much of their adult lives in

school-provided housing.

Teachers in one selective public school expressed frustration about overly large classes and about the ancient building with poor facilities, for example, no conference rooms, a sub-standard library, antiquarian science labs, and few computers. The principal complained about the lack of discretionary money (he had \$16,000 discretionary cash to run a school of 2500 students for the year). The school had to ask for a contribution from the student government to buy some computers. Some teachers commented about the emotional pressures placed on the students by their parents, peers, and selves.

Teachers in non-selective public schools complained about low pay and problems that interfered with doing their jobs as teachers, such as high student turnover rates, many non-English speaking students, the poverty of students' families, or the bureaucratic red tape they faced in dealing with the board of education.

FACULTY DEVELOPMENT. The task of teaching is to facilitate the intellectual, social and personal growth of other individuals. For this reason, we think that relatively more effective teachers will themselves continue to grow and develop. Do schools provide grants to develop new courses, materials, summer study or travel grants, or sabbaticals? On what grounds are they awarded?

Some of our major findings regarding faculty development were the following:

1. The existence of a program of "mentors" for new teachers at many private schools.
2. Considerable support for summer study and sabbaticals at both public and private schools.
3. The existence in certain selective private schools of interesting teacher exchange programs to other countries.
4. Encouraging teachers to join professional associations and to attend conferences.

The relative frequency of some of these policies in different types of schools is presented in Table 1. The data on mentors is limited because we learned of this practice in the course of our research and therefore did not ask about it systematically in every

school we visited. A number of private schools and at least one public school have an institutionalized program of "mentors" for new teachers. In it an experienced teacher is assigned by the principal or headmaster to be a new teacher's mentor. Mentors are expected to contact the new person over the summer to discuss their classes, assignments, and school procedures. They meet with the new teacher prior to the beginning of school, show them around, introduce them to people, show them how to get materials reproduced for their classes, and so forth. Once classes start they may serve as a sounding board and source of feedback for a new teacher concerned about getting students to participate in class, getting them to talk less with their friends, helping them to understand the subject, and other issues. Depending on the nature of the mentor, this arrangement seemed to us a good way to help a new teacher get started. According to one school's self-evaluation report, new teachers receive excellent continuing guidance in some departments in planning, i.e., help in determining the amount of work to assign students, use of class time, presentation of study techniques, classroom discipline and techniques for evaluating student's performance. In other departments there is almost none.

Probably department chairs or even principals perform some of these functions for new teachers in many schools, but people in those positions may seem somewhat intimidating to new young teachers, particularly if they feel that the administrator will also be evaluating them and determining their fate for the future. A mentor program seems to put more emphasis on faculty development rather than evaluation.

We were somewhat surprised to find as much support for faculty summer study and sabbaticals as we did among public schools. One selective and two other public schools were in a district which has a policy of sabbaticals consisting of 70 percent of one's pay for half a year or 60 percent of one's pay for a whole year. Supervisors can go for only half a year, and it must be to do further study. This district also has a very strong teachers union, which may be related to the sabbatical policy. All of the selective private schools where we were able to discuss this question and many of the other private schools also have such programs. Their administrations seem quite committed to such support and see it as an important part of keeping their faculty revitalized. For example, one well-endowed, selective private school encourages faculty members to take leaves of absence, especially

to get advanced degrees. They may take a semester or a full year off, while being paid, and receive allowances for housing and tuition expenses. The school also offers summer grants to faculty, especially to mathematics teachers and particularly if they want to do something using computers. They also have funds to visit other schools and to attend conferences. They feel these provide intellectual and personal renewal for faculty.

At least one selective private school offers exchanges with schools in Australia and England, so teachers can get a broader perspective and have a chance to travel as part of their work. Teachers are also sometimes able to take groups of students to European countries. Obviously not every faculty member has the chance to enjoy these benefits, but they represent major bonuses for those who do. Less well endowed schools are more likely to follow policies such as that at one school, where after 12 years of teaching a teacher is eligible to apply for a sabbatical leave, which may be taken for a full year at half pay, a half year at full pay, or two summers at full pay. Eligible teachers submit proposals that combine rest and academic experience designed to increase the teacher's classroom effectiveness. A teacher must spend a full year at the school after completing the sabbatical. The sabbatical program is two years old and one teacher went in each of the last two years.

Faculty members at most private and some public schools are encouraged to belong to professional associations and to attend their conferences. This support includes school payment of fees and travel expenses to at least regional conferences. The school also estimates that it spends about \$500 annually for professional teaching materials. Two members of the faculty served on national, regional or state professional committees in the past year. Thus, less endowed schools are able to spend less on costly programs such as sabbaticals, but to spend smaller amounts of money in ways they hope will foster faculty development. By requiring that faculty members teach at the school for at least one year after they have a sabbatical, one private school tries to avoid a problem other schools fear with sabbaticals, namely that teachers will use them to find a way out of teaching.

Other private school headmasters seemed less concerned about this problem. Several told us that they want their teachers (particularly those in math, science, or computers) to spend some time working in industry. They prefer that the teachers try it out to

see if they like it, rather than staying at the school and simply wishing to leave. If the teachers prefer industry, let them stay there, reason these headmasters, because an unhappy teacher is not someone they want around. On the other hand, if they find they dislike the working conditions or miss working with young people, then they return to teaching with new vitality and ideas. This is a gamble that heads at schools with more ample resources seem sanguine about taking.

TEACHER EVALUATION POLICIES. There are good reasons for studying the methods by which teacher effectiveness is assessed. The evaluation of personnel in any organization is critical for the achievement of the organization's objectives and goals. In schools, the evaluation of faculty by colleagues and administrators is usually regarded as an important part of determining how successful the school is in its daily operations and achieving its most compelling goal -- the education of students. The current movement to hold teachers "accountable" for the performance of their students, however, raises many questions concerning the standards used in defining effective teaching.

Given the imperfect methods of selecting teachers in the first place, it is not unreasonable that some should prove unable to perform at acceptable levels of competence or unwilling to observe minimally appropriate standards of comportment. How are such teachers dealt with? Are some teachers "let go"? What procedures are followed when this occurs? What part do tenure and unions play in this process?

Some of our insights into teacher evaluation are based on the sub-sample of 20 private schools where the teacher questionnaires were completed by 382 teachers. Two general types of evaluation were anticipated, formal and informal. The formal type of evaluation was defined as a public written set of evaluation procedures that were applied systematically to all members of the faculty. The informal type of evaluation was defined as the reliance on ad hoc methods of evaluation; these methods included occasional observations by administrators or department heads with subsequent informal discussion, the informal reports of parents, teachers and students and the dependence on the somewhat intuitive judgments of administrators.

In practice, both types of evaluation procedures might exist at the same school. While it is difficult

to discover the degree to which informal and formal evaluation systems act in opposition or concert at any given school, the presence of a formal evaluation system, if it is actually applied, can hardly avoid having an impact on both teachers and administrators. Like the legal system, formal methods of evaluation set the public parameters of debate and provide a forum for the formal distribution of justice, even if other non-formal systems continue to operate simultaneously.

As the data were analyzed, it appeared that four rather than two basic styles of evaluation were utilized in these 20 schools. Type one was a very informal style of evaluation, consisting of almost no observable method of teacher evaluation. Few, if any, observations occurred and no consistent procedure was used. Whether or not a teacher "fitted in" was decided on the basis of informal information reaching the administrator's ear by irregular methods of communication. Type two was an informal method of evaluation that usually consisted of occasional observations of faculty members by the principal, other administrator, or fellow teachers. No written or otherwise publicly agreed upon criteria were available by which to judge teaching effectiveness and the procedures that were utilized were seldom carried out in a consistent manner. Type three evaluation was formal in that a set of written procedures existed along with a clearly defined set of criteria for evaluating teacher effectiveness. The carrying out of this procedure, however, was sporadic and often inconsistent; for example, some teachers may have been evaluated two or three times and others not at all. In this style of evaluation, information was gathered according to a defined set of criteria but the methods by which it was gathered were subject to a great deal of variation. Type four was a very formal system. In this type of evaluation, there was a public written set of evaluation procedures which were applied systematically to all faculty members; the criteria by which individuals were judged were clearly spelled out.

An analysis of how type of evaluation was related to various school characteristics revealed that most secondary boarding schools use informal methods of evaluation, while day schools are more apt to utilize more formal evaluation methods. Larger day schools differed significantly from boarding schools in that the former had, as a group, established systematic methods of evaluation which usually included written evaluative procedures based on publicly defined professional criteria. Most boarding secondary

schools, on the other hand, tended to rely on informal methods of evaluation. Day school faculty usually had a structured opportunity to meet with administrators and discuss the results of the evaluation. In some cases this formal evaluation procedure affected each faculty member's job status in terms of continued employment, raises, subjects taught and other related responsibilities.

In most cases, the procedures and criteria for evaluation had been developed by a joint faculty/administration effort and faculty participation in the on-going evaluative process was fundamental to its operation. Any changes in evaluation systems had been planned carefully in all cases. In the newer formal systems, emphasis was placed on faculty growth and development, improving the channels of communication between faculty and administrators, and creating a more trusting atmosphere in the school as a whole.

When asked why a formal method of evaluation had been instituted at their schools, most administrators emphasized the following points: First, they felt that, as their schools grew, the background characteristics of their faculty members became more diverse and, at the same time, their own administrative duties were expanding to include more non-teaching issues such as renovation of the school's physical plant and fund-raising. They felt, therefore, that they needed a method of teacher evaluation that would provide them with comprehensive and accurate information as to whether their faculty was carrying out its professional responsibilities. Often this change in the evaluative system came within a short time after the appointment of a new head.

Second, most administrators not only felt that they needed better information about the performance of their faculty members, but also they required more information about how to best capitalize on the strengths and desires of the faculty more effectively. This concern was closely related to the feeling that more trust could be developed between administrators and teachers if the evaluative procedures were clearly spelled out and systematically carried out. It should be noted that this influx of information about the faculty to the school's administration also increases the potential control the administration has over its faculty. The centralization of the evaluation process allows the administration greater opportunity to define and evaluate teaching effectiveness, leading, perhaps to new definitions of effectiveness that, in turn,

might influence hiring, rehiring and promotion practices.

Third, the legal issue of due process was raised by some administrators. It may become increasingly necessary, they felt, to be able to substantiate their decisions about rehiring and the promotion of faculty, especially in a legal forum. This concern was accompanied by the acknowledgement that, in an increasing number of states, educational authorities may seek to impose a standardized form of faculty evaluation on all elementary and secondary schools. Some administrators suggested that in order to avoid such an imposition, it would be wise for private schools to anticipate the problem and develop their own methods of teacher evaluation.

These concerns and considerations were not confined to administrators in large day schools. Administrators in the day schools, in general, shared similar outlooks regarding teacher evaluation and accepted the idea of more formal evaluation systems; one headmaster called it "the wave of the future." Such a consensus, however, was not evident among boarding school administrators. Interviews with these administrators revealed that the problems of teacher evaluation in boarding schools were complex and that many of the boarding schools in this sample were groping toward a system of evaluation without enormous confidence. This is not to say that all administrators at boarding schools are very unhappy about how their faculties are evaluated. Most, however, felt that some degree of change is preferable to maintaining the present methods. What changes should take place was less clear.

All boarding school administrators agreed that good faculty evaluation was important but consensus on effectiveness in a near total environment was difficult to obtain. Boarding school teachers work and live in an environment where classroom teaching alone cannot be the sole criteria for success. Like good parenting, successful teaching at boarding schools may be difficult to define in detail because the whole experience is somewhat greater than the sum of the parts.

The administrator's degree of satisfaction with their school's method of evaluation was assessed through an interview. The categories applied to the administrator responses were classified as satisfied, somewhat satisfied, ambivalent or neutral, somewhat dissatisfied, and dissatisfied. Administrators were

satisfied with their school's method of evaluation if they endorsed the present system and offered no substantive suggestions for change. An administrator was somewhat satisfied if he or she supported the school's present system of evaluation, but expressed reservations about aspects of the evaluation, including how the evaluation was carried out. Ambivalent or neutral administrator's answers were either self-contradictory or no clear opinions were expressed on the topic. Administrators who offered no opinion on any evaluation item were not included in the administrator satisfaction analysis. Somewhat dissatisfied administrators had substantive reservations about the present method of evaluation, and their support for it was minimal. Suggestions for revamping the evaluation system were often included. A dissatisfied administrator rejected the present form of evaluation entirely because they found it useless, wasteful, or worse. These administrators expressed a high degree of discontentment with the methods of evaluation.

When administrator satisfaction was related to the type of evaluation, taking into account the size of the school, some interesting results emerged (Table 2). It appears that dissatisfaction is concentrated in the medium and large schools that do not use formal methods of evaluation. School communities that are neither very large nor very small may have difficulty in arriving at a method of evaluation that is more formal than what is required in a small school and less formal than what is required in a very large school. Table 2 also indicates that no administrators were dissatisfied in schools that used formal methods of evaluation.

In general terms, public schools seem to be more likely to use formal means of evaluation than private schools, a difference that is undoubtedly related to their generally greater size, concerns with due process, and presence of a teachers' union (Table 3). Department chairs and peers appear to be more involved in faculty evaluation in private compared to public schools, and therefore the evaluation process is less likely to appear to be a heavily "top down" procedure in private schools. Although the number of selective public schools is tiny, it is noteworthy that they more closely resemble private schools in this respect than other public schools.

The same is true of their willingness to fire teachers. Despite the existence of unions in the two selective public schools where we explored faculty termination, one of the schools indicated their

willingness to try to release a teacher who was widely considered to be ineffective. If need be, they will prosecute a teacher to get rid of him or her. At a meeting of the school's parent association, the principal received a complaint about a particular teacher (who has the reputation of being the worst in the school). Rather than brushing off the complaint, the principal said to the parents, "You must put your complaint in writing and provide documentation for it, otherwise we cannot take any action." His tone was not one of cooling the parents out but rather one of encouraging them to pursue their complaint in an effective way. More than two years later, however, that teacher was still in the school.

At one selective private school, the school may do a thorough evaluation of his or her teaching after a teacher has been at the school for several years. This could include attending the teacher's classes for an entire week. Teachers say that occasionally the department chair sits in on their classes and then makes a few suggestions about their teaching. According to the vice principal, his role in sitting in on classes is "symbolic." "The real evaluation is by the Department head and the senior people in the department." Teachers are evaluated in part on the basis of how often they are around the departmental office and the kind of input they provide in departmental discussions. Senior teachers form an impression of how young teachers conduct themselves with students and at the weekly school-wide faculty meetings. This aspect of review is more informal than formal. There was no mention of formal student evaluation of faculty.

Some of the relatively non-selective private schools have quite extensive programs of faculty evaluation which include a self-appraisal, an interview with the school head, classroom observations by senior members of the department, and student evaluations. New teachers are evaluated in their first and second semesters and during their second year. After that teachers are evaluated every three years. The school has a class observation sheet on which observers are to note aspects of teaching to be critiqued, comments they made to the teacher, and the teacher's reaction to those comments. In addition, the departmental chair evaluates a teacher's professional skills, students evaluate their courses and how they are taught, the athletic department evaluates their athletic coaching, students evaluate their coaching, and students living in each dorm evaluate the resident teachers' professional skills as dorm residents. In short, all

aspects of a teacher's role are scrutinized by departmental supervisors, the head, and students.

There are some differences in the role played by students and parents in the evaluation of teachers in the four types of schools. Selective public schools most closely resemble private schools with respect to their indications that they included student evaluations of faculty in the process. While not all were as explicit as one, which has a formal process of teacher evaluation by students, nevertheless they indicated various ways students could evaluate their teachers. In one selective public school, students publish their evaluations of teachers in a student magazine. Moreover, students will transfer out of a teacher's class if they are not learning. If a teacher is not doing well, the senior teachers in the department, and especially the department chair, try to work with the person and train him or her to be a better teacher. If there is no growth after one or two years, they will encourage the teacher to transfer out. Other department chairs agreed that a "really poor teacher won't last, in general."

Social researchers are well aware of the importance of peers for adolescent behavior, but less attention has been devoted to the possible role of peers in teacher evaluation. Sociologists of science have stressed the importance of "competent response" by a scientist's disciplinary peers (Storer, 1966), and members of other professions (e.g., law, medicine) have successfully staked the claim that only they can judge the quality of work done by members of the profession. In contrast, teaching has been described as an occupation in which practitioners are singularly isolated from the competent response of their peers (Lortie, 1975). To what degree do teacher personnel policies enhance this isolation and to what extent do they utilize peers in the evaluation of teachers?

The use of peer appraisal of teachers is more prevalent in private schools and selective public schools than in non-selective public schools (Table 3, row 5). The question arises, are there conditions under which peer assessment is more or less effective? Are there some schools which appear to be relatively more effective than others in providing helpful feedback to teachers and in evaluating them fairly as to how well they are doing their work? As with adolescents, peer pressure on teachers may operate outside the classroom, and it may have deleterious as well as possibly positive consequences.

One woman, who had taught English first in a public school before becoming a teacher and then the principal of a private school, said that in public school she had much larger classes. Even so, she assigned essay exams and term papers to her students. When she sat in the teachers' lounge trying to read and grade her papers the other teachers sat around and made fun of her. "Why are you spending all that time reading those papers? Why bother?" they asked her. "We turned in our grades last week. What's wrong with you?" This example should not be taken to suggest that private school teachers care while public ones do not. Instead, it suggests that peer evaluations interact with two other factors, specifically a teacher's career engagement and the prevailing attitudes and values of a teacher's peers, an observation which indicates the importance of school culture.

CAREER ENGAGEMENT. As Lortie noted (1975), one of the major sources of satisfaction for teachers is the chance to see young people grow and develop, and to enjoy a good personal relationship with them in the process. Teachers who have the opportunity to work with individual students or be involved with students in extracurricular activities, therefore, may be seen as more engaged in the career of teaching on a personal and social level than teachers who do not have such opportunities. At the intellectual level, teachers who have the chance to work on developing the curriculum, have the chance to initiate and teach new courses, or have opportunities to develop new teaching styles (such as team teaching) may be seen as more intellectually engaged in their career than teachers who are not so involved.

Another aspect of career engagement is the opportunity to exercise professional judgment, for example, in designing a new course, working on significant committees, trying a new method of teaching, and so forth. Thus, career engagement may be evident in extra time spent with students, or through involvement with one's subject or pedagogy.

From our field notes we were able to classify systematically certain features of teacher career engagement, including opportunities to help formulate curriculum, the chance to initiate new courses, the chance to get to know students outside of class, and the chance to do extracurricular activities with students (Table 4).

Although the results in Table 4 are highly tentative and are not based on a large enough or a

representative sample of public schools, there are some major differences. In the areas of curriculum and teaching, selective public high school teachers and private school teachers are much more likely than other public high school teachers to have the chance to try new techniques or initiate new courses. In general, the curricula of public schools is set by local and/or state boards of education and individual schools have less freedom to experiment with it than private schools do. Private schools need to pass muster with selective, often private colleges. One way they do this is by offering Advanced Placement (AP) courses, so students can show their proficiency on the AP exams of the College Entrance Examination Board. Selective public high schools and some upper middle class suburban public high schools do this as well.

Despite the structural differences between public and private schools, teachers in some public schools do have opportunities for curricular and pedagogical initiatives. These factors may help to explain why teachers who love their subject matter often say they prefer to teach in private schools or in public schools which permit them to have some voice in how that subject matter is presented to students, at least once they have some experience. At one relatively unselective private school, department heads usually order the course materials for new teachers well before the term begins, but teachers are expected to be very involved in that process after the first year. Another major difference between public and private school teachers rests on the degree to which they are expected (indeed required) to get to know students on a personal basis. Teachers who coach a sport, supervise some other extracurricular activity, or are resident advisors in a dormitory obviously get to know students much better than do teachers who see students only in formal classes and leave school at 3:10. Clearly the former are behaviorally much more engaged in their teaching careers.

Nearly one-half of the 382 private school teachers in Cookson's survey indicated that teaching was their primary career goal, a response that might be taken as an indicator of career engagement. While we do not have comparable data on public school teachers, the research indicating that many teachers say they would not choose teaching again if they were deciding their career today suggests that many are not intensely committed to remaining teachers.

B. Factors That Mediate a School's Policies

SCHOOL CULTURE. Whatever personnel policies a school has, those policies are implemented by people. The prevailing attitudes and values of those people thus become extremely important in shaping how particular policies are put into practice. This factor was noted by Sykes, who says:

Requirements to increase in-class monitoring of teachers will likely be modest and innocuous reforms. In a sense they are hardly reforms at all. Most school districts already require administrators to routinely evaluate teachers based on classroom observations, checklists, and other devices. Whether such evaluations serve to improve teaching rests mainly on administrative discretion. Some principals and department heads take their responsibilities as instructional leaders quite seriously and work hard at staff development. Others rarely venture from their offices and conduct only the most pro forma assessments. Reforms which seek to improve the technical quality of behavioral assessments or to mandate more evaluations miss the point that this is primarily a human interactive process in which rewards are mutually exchanged, alliances formed, prejudices played out. The culture of most schools militates strongly against genuinely evaluative interchanges between administrators and teachers or among teachers. Evaluation consequently becomes a ceremony, a tacit agreement among school staff not to disrupt the "logic of confidence" which binds them all together (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). The chances that external mandates which set up oversight committees, introduce state agents as evaluators, or require more rigorous administrator assessment will alter this persistent feature of school culture are slim at best (Sykes, 1983, pp. 106-7).

Changing the formal policies and structures may not change the meaningful behavior of people in a school. We believe that the principal or head of a

school, as well as department chairs, and established members of the faculty, set a cultural tone that supports or undermines commitment to good teaching, effective faculty development and evaluation. Measuring this through means other than observation or participant observation seems difficult. Despite the difficulty of measuring it, however, we believe this is a critically important factor.

UNIONIZATION. Another important factor that mediates personnel policies is the existence of a teachers union. None of the private schools we visited have teacher unions, while two out of three of the selective public high schools and all of the non-selective public high schools have unions. Like school culture, a teachers union can influence policies in a variety of ways, depending, for example, on the union leadership in a school and the nature of the relationship between the union and administrators. (See Johnson, 1984, for a thoughtful discussion of the role of unions in schools.)

In one non-selective public school, for example, two vice principals at the school described their relationship with the union as "cooperative." They thought it was "unusual," but that there was a willingness "on both sides to bend a little." In one selective public high school, the union is a channel for grievances about overly large classes or due process and for social matters such as births or deaths in people's families, gifts for people retiring, and so forth. In short, teacher personnel policies cannot be discussed without considering the existence and role of a teachers' union.

CLASS SIZE. Much research on class size has compared classes of 24 students with those of 27 students and found that class size is not a significant variable. In our research we observed many private school classes with between eight and fifteen students, and many public schools classes with from 25 to 37 students. When differences in class size approach this magnitude, and when they are coupled with a teaching load of four courses for private school teachers and five courses (or sometimes six) for public school teachers, we are talking of daily contact with as few as 32 students to as many as 175 or more students. The implications of such differences for the amount of writing, projects, homework, and individual attention teachers can give students are monumental. Class size and the absence of unions are the two single biggest structural differences between public and private schools, and it is possible that they are not totally

unrelated. Any analysis of teacher personnel policies and their possible effects must take into account the condition of class size.

C. Possible Consequences of Teacher Personnel Policies

The purpose of studying teacher personnel policies rests on the assumption that they may affect significant educational outcomes, including attracting and retaining good teachers, and ultimately affecting the educational experiences of students. We have already discussed the issue of recruiting teachers and some of the strategies various types of schools have adopted. We had hoped to be able to obtain systematic data on teacher turnover rates, but this was not possible for a variety of reasons. Some of the schools we visited do not keep systematic, long-term records on their teachers. We sensed others were reluctant to share such data with us and we were reluctant to push for it. Finally, in some cases, we were so involved in exploring other avenues of inquiry with school officials that we did not pursue teacher turnover. We did obtain, however, some interesting data on teacher satisfaction and on some student outcomes.

TEACHER SATISFACTION. While a number of studies of the industrial workplace have found no relationship between worker satisfaction (measured in a variety of ways) and productivity, it is our sense that teacher satisfaction cannot be dismissed as irrelevant. In the workplace, the worker does not interact with the material being worked on, the way teachers interact with students. A large body of literature on teacher expectations (summarized, for example, in Persell, 1977 and Cooper and Good, 1983) suggests that teachers' attitudes may influence how much their students learn.

An additional, practical, reason for caring about teacher satisfaction is that some dissatisfied teachers have left, and will continue to leave, teaching. In a period of increasing teacher shortages, this is an important issue that cannot be ignored, even if postulated linkages between teacher satisfaction and student learning cannot be conclusively proven. Finally, to the degree that teacher satisfaction appears to be related to personnel practices within schools, it may be within the realm of the school to do something to influence it.

Through the teacher questionnaires we were able to analyze one specific aspect of the larger phenomena of teacher satisfaction, namely, how satisfied teachers were with the method of evaluation used in their schools. We were able:

1. to assess the level of teacher satisfaction with teacher evaluation,
2. to compare teachers' and administrators' satisfaction with the methods of evaluation used in their schools,
3. to relate teacher satisfaction to the type of evaluation,
4. to relate teacher satisfaction to type of private school (namely day or boarding),
5. to relate teacher satisfaction to school size,
6. to relate teacher satisfaction to school size and type of evaluation together,
7. to explore what aspects of evaluation teachers found most and least helpful, and
8. to get some sense of how private school teachers see faculty evaluation in general.

In the survey of 382 teachers at 20 private schools, teacher satisfaction was assessed by content analyzing three open-ended questions (questions 2, 3, and 4 from Part I of the Teacher Questionnaire in the Appendix). Five categories of satisfaction were germane: satisfied, somewhat satisfied, ambivalent or neutral, somewhat dissatisfied, and dissatisfied. A teacher was satisfied with his or her school's method of evaluation if he or she endorsed the present system and offered no substantive suggestions for change. A teacher was somewhat satisfied if he or she supported the school's present system of evaluation, but expressed reservations about aspects of the evaluation, including how the evaluation was carried out. Ambivalent or neutral teacher's answers were either self-contradictory or no clear opinions were expressed on the topic. Teachers who offered no opinion on any evaluation item were not included in the teacher satisfaction analysis. Somewhat dissatisfied teachers had reservations about how they were evaluated. Support for their present method of evaluation was minimal. Suggestions for revamping the evaluation system were often included. A dissatisfied teacher

rejected their present form of evaluation entirely because they found it useless, wasteful, or worse. These teachers expressed a high degree of discontent with the methods by which they were evaluated.

Table 5 indicates that teachers, on the whole, seem less satisfied with how they were evaluated than administrators are. The latter usually organize and operate the methods of evaluation. While 70 percent of the administrators were satisfied or somewhat satisfied with their school's method of faculty evaluation, only 47 percent of the faculty returns fell into those same two categories.

Table 6 shows that teacher satisfaction was related to the type of evaluation. Overall, in schools with very informal methods of evaluation, only 29 percent of the faculty were either satisfied or somewhat satisfied with their school's present method of evaluation. Correspondingly, in those schools using informal methods of evaluation, only 34 percent of the teachers expressed some form of satisfaction. In formal systems, 35 percent of the teachers expressed satisfaction with how they were evaluated (35 percent were also somewhat dissatisfied). In schools using very formal systems of evaluation, 64 percent of the teachers expressed some form of satisfaction.

Table 7 indicates that the type of school alone was not related to reported teacher satisfaction. When reported teacher satisfaction was related to both type of school and type of evaluation (Table 8) we see that the relationship between type of evaluation and reported teacher satisfaction was not significantly changed, although some interesting variations do occur. For instance, in schools with informal methods of evaluation, day school teachers were less dissatisfied than teachers in boarding schools that used informal methods of evaluation.

Administrator dissatisfaction with their school's present method of evaluation was found primarily in medium size and large schools not using formal methods of evaluation. Performing the same analysis with the teacher questionnaires (Table 9), we found that our observations were limited by the small number of returns from small and medium sized schools. Only twenty-seven teachers returned questionnaires from these schools, making any analysis of them dubious. In the larger schools, however, a pattern did seem to develop. In the large schools only 32 percent of the responding faculty expressed some form of satisfaction about how they were evaluated; in the "very large"

schools, 61 percent expressed some kind of satisfaction.

Extending this analysis, Table 10 suggests that when teacher satisfaction was related to school size and type of evaluation, the same general pattern remains. Informal styles of faculty evaluation were more closely associated with somewhat dissatisfied or dissatisfied teacher responses although there were considerable variations within large and very large schools. Clearly large schools using very informal methods of evaluation did not fare well in teacher's estimations. Only 33 percent of teachers working in large schools with informal methods expressed satisfaction. In very large schools with very formal methods, a substantial proportion of teachers were satisfied with the methods of evaluation.

When teachers were asked what part of their school's evaluation they found most helpful (Table 11), the great majority preferred teacher observation and discussion, and formal methods of evaluation. When teachers indicated what aspects of the evaluation they found least helpful, more than one third indicated administrative observations and discussions and less than one third indicated formal methods of evaluation; only 11 percent indicated teacher observation and discussion. Clearly, the faculty who wanted changes in their method of evaluation opted for more faculty and administrative involvement (Table 12).

Taken as a whole, these findings point toward a desired increase in faculty involvement in the evaluative process. Faculty members are more interested in the process of evaluation than in the formalization and instrumentation of that process. Whether a school uses a formal evaluative instrument or not, seems less important than having a method of teacher evaluation that is open, consistent, and involves the faculty itself.

To underscore the preceding point, the two specific evaluation methods that were related to faculty satisfaction were observation by faculty members and student evaluation (Tables 13 and 14). In both cases, teachers were more satisfied with how they were evaluated when teacher observations and/or student observations were employed than when they were not.

The feeling one received when reading the teacher questionnaire returns was a sense of isolation among some teachers who felt that they were working in a sort of professional vacuum without the institutional

supports necessary to become better, more self-assured teachers. They were not particularly interested in evaluation for the purpose of settling contract disputes, but instead, they viewed good evaluative procedures as providing a process by which communications between all parts of the school community could be increased and improved. They were searching for a practical professional ethos by which to evaluate themselves and others. Professional growth, in their terms, became individual growth within a wider framework that incorporated the standards of a larger profession.

No teachers questioned the administrator's authority to make personnel policy decisions, but they did question the process by which those decisions were reached. Most teachers believe that an open and consistent method of evaluation would increase their teaching effectiveness and improve faculty-administrator relations; which in turn would improve their educational community.

One further point -- many of the administrators who worked in schools using informal methods of evaluation often said that they would like to institute more systematic methods of faculty evaluation, but they were fearful that such a process would be very time-consuming. The use of time represents an ordering of priorities. We can only say that in those schools which took the time to institute more formal methods of evaluation, the results seemed satisfactory to both teachers and administrators. The very process of establishing an open method of evaluation should, in the long run, create a more honest, less uncertain, school community.

STUDENT OUTCOMES. If students perceive their teachers as caring and as willing to help them learn, we think that may enhance student learning (perhaps as reflected in test scores), students' self-esteem, students' educational aspirations, and actual college attendance. This is a difficult causal link to establish. At the very least we think that students who perceive their teachers as caring and helpful will like school a little bit more than students who see their teachers as less caring and helpful.

Several measures of student outcomes are based on survey results from 2,779 students at 20 private and four public schools. One indicator was the percentage of students in a school agreeing that "Teachers here are very interested in their students." The percentage of students responding affirmatively was very high at all the schools (Table 14). The lowest percentage was 69 percent at a relatively unselective private school and the highest percentage was 97 percent at a selective public school. At most schools more than 80 percent of the students answered positively.

Another question elicited similarly positive responses. Students were asked to indicate whether this statement was true or false: "Students having difficulty with their courses find it difficult to get help from teachers." At all the private schools, 80 percent or more of the students responded "false," as did 92 percent of the students at a selective public school. The percentage at two non-selective public high schools were somewhat lower, namely 80 percent and 74 percent, but still quite high. Bigger differences arose in response to the statement, "Many classes here are boring." As many as 79 percent responded false at a selective private school, but in general the percentage of "false" replies among private school students were in the 50s, 60s, and 70s, as was one selective public school. The two nonselective public schools were dramatically different, however, with only 22 percent and 31 percent of students responding negatively to the statement. For some reason the students in public school perceive their teachers as more boring than do private school students. Is this measure an important indicator of student outcomes?

Other student outcome measures vary as well across these settings -- self-esteem, Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores, the percentage aspiring to college, and the percentage attending college. Clearly, although these differences may be associated with varied teacher personnel policies, they cannot begin to be considered as caused by them.

Part IV. HYPOTHESIZED RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TEACHER PERSONNEL POLICIES AND EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES

The discrete findings reported thus far suggest a series of interrelated hypotheses about how teacher personnel policies and other factors may interact to influence educational outcomes. A tentative model of these interrelationships is portrayed schematically in Figure 1, and a series of hypotheses are listed below, clustered around the major policies that bear on them.

RECRUITMENT

1. The policies schools use to recruit new teachers will influence, to some degree, who enters teaching and what their backgrounds are.
2. Policies that select for interest in subject matter and personal qualities, rather than certification or courses in education alone, will increase the pool of possible candidates for teaching.
3. In situations where schools play an active role in the recruitment process, both schools and faculty will feel more involved in the teaching enterprise.
4. If teachers are selected in part because of their interest in students, their energy level, and the affect they bring to the job, they are more likely to be the kinds of people who become deeply engaged in their careers and ones who are perceived by students as caring.
5. Schools with internships are more likely to attract people who have not previously considered teaching than schools without such programs.
6. Schools which offer more opportunities for teachers to become involved with students, subject matter, and pedagogy have more magnetic attraction for committed people considering teaching careers than schools which offer fewer such opportunities. This probably enhances the capacity of such schools to recruit teachers.

INCENTIVES AND REWARDS

1. Schools which offer a larger variety of meaningful incentives to prospective teachers, both intrinsic and extrinsic, will have larger numbers of applicants than schools which are able to offer fewer meaningful incentives.
2. People receiving career rewards and incentives which are important to them are more likely to be engaged in their careers.
3. Schools which are able to offer competent response from a teacher's peers may have more satisfied teachers.

DISINCENTIVES

1. Low financial rewards discourage some people from entering teaching, especially among recent college graduates.
2. Schools which are able to minimize the number of what are perceived as disincentives by prospective and current teachers, are likely to have more applicants for teaching positions and likely to have lower levels of teacher dissatisfaction and turnover.

FACULTY DEVELOPMENT

1. Schools which conceive of a teaching career as a developmental process are likely to have policies that encourage faculty development. In such schools, ten years of teaching experience means more than one year repeated ten times.
2. Faculty development may be encouraged by the existence of a mentor program for beginning teachers.
3. Opportunities for summer and/or sabbatical study are positively related to faculty development and satisfaction.
4. Encouragement (time and money) to participate in professional associations may help the professional development of some teachers.
5. Opportunities for professional growth may enhance teachers' engagement in teaching.

TEACHER EVALUATION POLICIES

1. School size is related to type of evaluation procedures used in private schools, with larger schools and day schools being more likely to use formal methods of evaluation than smaller schools and boarding schools.
2. Teachers find that faculty, administrator, and student involvement in the evaluation process are all useful.

CAREER ENGAGEMENT

1. Career engagement may be related to teacher satisfaction, to the perception of teachers as caring by students, and to students' perceptions that their classes are not boring.
2. Despite the structural differences between public and private schools, teachers in some public schools have opportunities to take curricular and pedagogical initiatives, a feature that may be related to teacher satisfaction and student perceptions of classes as not boring.

CONDITIONS

1. The number of students a teacher sees each day is likely to influence how involved that teacher may become with each student, which in turn may influence teacher satisfaction.
2. Class size may be related to the amount of writing and projects teachers will assign (and effectively evaluate), factors which affect the development of student skills. These conditions also seem likely to influence students' perceptions of their teachers as caring.
3. A school culture that supports teaching and learning may be influenced by recruitment policies, specifically the degree to which they emphasize academic background and personal commitment to teaching.

TEACHER SATISFACTION

1. Teacher satisfaction is higher where teachers are involved in the evaluation process.
2. In larger schools, administrator and teacher satisfaction is greater when more formal methods

of evaluation are used.

3. If there are no formal sanctions for poor teaching, teacher morale is likely to sag.
4. Teacher satisfaction facilitates positive student outcomes, because satisfied teachers spend less time and effort complaining and more time and effort devising ways to help their students learn.
5. Satisfied teachers are more likely to hold higher expectations for their students than dissatisfied teachers. As a result, they are likely to teach them more and the students are likely to learn more.
6. Satisfied teachers are less likely than dissatisfied teachers to leave teaching.
7. Higher teacher turnover is related to lower levels of student learning.
8. Students are more likely to perceive satisfied teachers as caring about them.
9. Satisfied teachers are less likely to have their classes perceived as boring by students.

STUDENT OUTCOMES

1. Student outcomes are more likely to be positive in schools where teachers are recruited for their commitment to students and teaching.
2. Student outcomes are more likely to be positive when teachers are deeply engaged with students, their subject matter, or methods of teaching than when they are not.
3. Student outcomes are more likely to be positive when teachers themselves have opportunities to continue learning and developing in intellectual and personal ways.
4. Students are likely to have higher educational aspirations and to learn more when they perceive their teachers as caring and their classes as not boring.

In sum, we hypothesize that teacher personnel policies may affect recruitment, school culture, faculty development, teacher evaluation, class size,

teacher career engagement, and teacher satisfaction,
and that all of these, in turn, may be related to
student aspirations and learning.

Table 1

Personnel Policies for Faculty Development
in Four Types of Schools

	Selective Public N = (3)	Other Public (6)	Selective Private (22)	Other Private (29)
Have mentors for new teachers	1 No 2 NA	1 Yes 5 NA	4/5 Yes 17 NA	5/6 Yes 23 NA
Support faculty summer study	1/3 Yes	4/5 Yes 1 NA	18/18 Yes 4 NA	16/18 Yes 11 NA
Have paid sabbaticals	2/2 Yes 1 NA	6/6 Yes	14/14 Yes 8 NA	5/9 Yes 20 NA

*NA = Information not available.

Table 2

Reported Administrator Satisfaction by Size of School and Type of Evaluation

(N=20)

Level of Satisfaction	Size of School*															
	Small				Medium				Large				Very Large			
	Type of Evaluation**				Type of Evaluation				Type of Evaluation				Type of Evaluation			
	VIN	IN	F	VF	VIN	IN	F	VF	VIN	IN	F	VF	VIN	IN	F	VF
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Satisfied						100				50						40
Somewhat Satisfied	50								50	60	50			100		60
Ambivalent or Neutral																
Somewhat Dissatisfied	50					100				40						
Dissatisfied										50						
Total Percent	<u>100</u>					<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	
Number	(2)					(2)	(1)		(2)	(5)	(2)		(1)		(5)	

* Small = 1-99 students, medium = 100-199 students, large = 200-499 students, very large = 500 or more students

** VIN = Very Informal, IN = Informal, F = Formal, VF = Very Formal

Table 3 Personnel Policies for Teacher Evaluation
in Four Types of Schools

	N =	Selective Public (3)	Other Public (6)	Selective Private (22)	Other Private (29)
Heavily Top Down?					
% Yes		33%	60% (1 NA)	36%	45%
Use Formal Means?					
% Yes		67%	80% (1 NA)	41% (5 NA)	37% (2 NA)
Use Informal Means?					
% Yes		67%	0% (1 NA)	68%	70% (1 NA)
Done by Department Chair?					
% Yes		67%	33% (1 NA)	94% (3 NA)	70% (2 NA)
Use Peer Appraisal?					
% Yes		67%	20% (1 NA)	73% (2 NA)	78% (2 NA)
Include Student Input?					
% Yes		33%	80% (1 NA)	95% (3 NA)	93% (2 NA)
Include Parental Input?					
% Yes		33%	0% (1 NA)	0%	0%
Do they fire people?					
% Yes		50% (1 NA)	20% (1 NA)	100%	100%

NA = Information not available.

Table 4 Indicators of Teacher Participation and Career
Engagement in Four Types of Schools

	N =	Selective Public (3)	Other Public (6)	Selective Private (22)	Other Private (29)
Chance to try new teaching techniques					
High		33%	0%	41%	41%
Medium		67%	50%	55%	45%
Low		0%	50%	5%	14%
Chance to help formulate curriculum					
% Yes		33%	33%	91%	79%
Chance to initiate new courses					
% Yes		100%	33%	95%	79%
Most teachers have the chance to do extracurriculars with students					
% Yes		0%	0%	100%	100%
Chance to get to know students personally					
% Yes		33%	16%	100%	100%

Table 5

Reported Teacher and Administrator Satisfaction with
Present System of Evaluation

(N=398)

Level of Satisfaction	Teacher %	Administrator %
Satisfaction	16	20
Somewhat Satisfied	31	50
Ambivalent or Neutral	15	
Somewhat Dissatisfied	28	25
Dissatisfied	<u>10</u>	<u>05</u>
Total Percent	100	100
Number	(378)	(20)

Table 6

Reported Teacher Satisfaction by Type of Evaluation

(N=377)

Level of Satisfaction	Very Informal%	Informal%	Formal%	Very Informal%
Satisfied	16	16		18
Somewhat Satisfied	13	18	35	46
Ambivalent or Neutral	23	18	20	10
Somewhat Dissatisfied	45	37	35	15
Dissatisfied	<u>03</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>
Total Percent	100	100	100	100
Number	(31)	(154)	(20)	(172)

Table 7

Reported Teacher Satisfaction by Type of School

(N=378)

Level of Satisfaction	Boarding %	Day %
Satisfied	15	17
Somewhat Satisfied	30	32
Ambivalent or Neutral	17	14
Somewhat Dissatisfied	28	27
Dissatisfied	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>
Total Percent	100	100
Number	(190)	(188)

Table 8

Reported Teacher Satisfaction by Type of School and Type of Evaluation
(N=351)

Level of Satisfaction	Type of School							
	Boarding				Day			
	Type of Evaluation*				Type of Evaluation			
	VIN%	IN%	F%	VF%	VIN%	IN%	F%	VF%
Satisfied	16	10		21	28			16
Somewhat Satisfied	13	16		60	21	35		38
Ambivalent or Neutral	23	14		14	19	20		08
Somewhat Dissatisfied	45	40		03	32	35		22
Dissatisfied	<u>03</u>	<u>20</u>		<u>02</u>	—	<u>10</u>		<u>16</u>
Total Percent	100	100		100	100	100		100
Number	(31)	(81)	(0)	(62)	(0)	(47)	(20)	(110)

*VIN = Very Informal, IN = Informal, F = Formal, VF = Very Formal

Table 9

Reported Teacher Satisfaction By School Size

(N=373)

Level of Satisfaction	School Size*			
	Small %	Medium %	Large %	Very Large %
Satisfied	56	06	09	20
Somewhat Satisfied		06	23	41
Ambivalent or Neutral		27	20	10
Somewhat Dissatisfied	44	55	36	19
Dissatisfied		06	12	10
Total Percent	100	100	100	100
Number	(9)	(18)	(147)	(199)

* Small = 1-99 students, Medium = 100-199 students, Large = 200-499 students, Very large = 500 or more students

Table 10

Reported Teacher Satisfaction by School Size and Type of Evaluation

(N=373)

Level of Satisfaction	School Size*															
	Small				Medium				Large				Very Large			
	Type of Evaluation**				Type of Evaluation				Type of Evaluation				Type of Evaluation			
	VIN%	IN%	F%	VF%	VIN%	IN%	F%	VF%	VIN%	IN%	F%	VF%	VIN%	IN%	F%	VF%
Satisfied	56				06				12				30			18
Somewhat Satisfied					06				18	21	39		11			46
Ambivalent or Neutral					27				32	19	11		15			10
Somewhat Dissatisfied	44				55				45	33	39		44			15
Dissatisfied	—				06				05	15	11		—			11
Total Percent	100				100				100	100	100		100			100
Number	(9)				(18)				(22)	(107)	(18)		(27)			(172)

* Small = 1-99 students, Medium = 100-199 students, Large = 200-499 students, Very Large = 500 or more students

** VIN = Very Informal, IN = Informal, F = Formal, VF = Very Formal

Table 11

Teacher's Self-Report on What Aspects of
Their School's Evaluation Procedures They
Found Most Helpful and Least Helpful

<u>Aspects Most Helpful</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Faculty Observations and Discussions	134	40
Formal Methods of Evaluation	114	34
No Part Helpful	50	15
Administration Observa- tions and Discussions	22	07
Informal Methods of Evaluation	<u>15</u>	<u>04</u>
Total	335	100

<u>Aspects Least Helpful</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Administrator Observations and Discussions	85	36
Formal Methods of Evaluation	66	28
No Part Unhelpful	55	24
Faculty Observations and Discussions	25	11
Informal Methods of Evaluation	<u>2</u>	<u>01</u>
Total	233	100

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• Table 12

Teachers Self-Report on What Changes They
Would Like to See Take Place in Their
School's Method of Faculty Evaluation.

<u>Desired Changes</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
More Administrator Involvement	102	40
More Faculty Involvement	100	39
More Formal Methods of Evaluation	34	13
Less Formal Methods of Evaluation	9	03
Less Administrator Involvement	9	03
Less Faculty Involvement	<u>4</u>	<u>02</u>
Total	258	100

Table 13

Reported Faculty Satisfaction by "Faculty Observations" as a Method of Evaluation

(N=377)

Level of Satisfaction	Faculty observation not used in the respondent's school %	Faculty observa- tion used in the respondent's school %
Satisfied	15	16
Somewhat Satisfied	18	38
Ambivalent or Neutral	18	14
Somewhat Dissatisfied	31	26
Dissatisfied	<u>18</u>	<u>06</u>
Total Percent	100	100
Number	(128)	(249)

Table 14

Reported Faculty Satisfaction by "Student Evaluation" as a Method of Evaluation

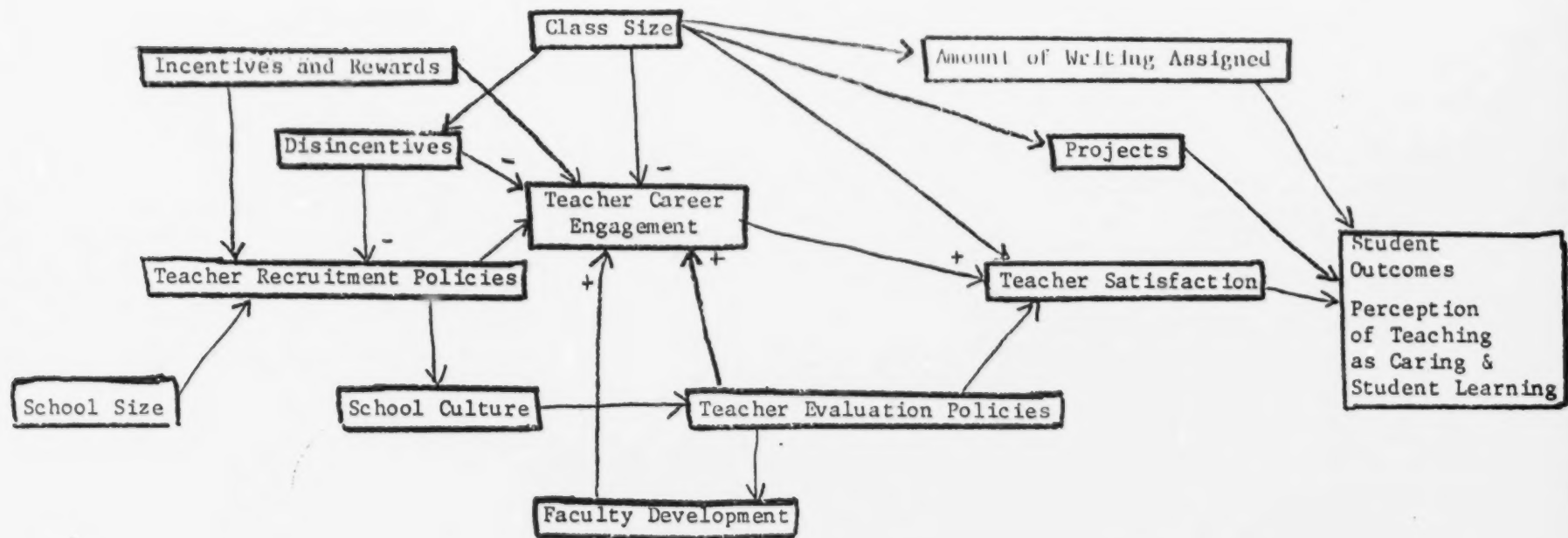
(N=377)

Level of Satisfaction	Student evaluation not used in the respondent's school %	Student evaluation used in the res- pondent's school %
Satisfied	13	18
Somewhat Satisfied	19	41
Ambivalent or Neutral	17	14
Somewhat Dissatisfied	34	23
Dissatisfied	<u>17</u>	<u>04</u>
Total Percent	100	100
Number	(167)	(210)

Table 15
Percent of Students Reporting Various Perceptions of their Schools and Teachers

	TYPE OF SCHOOL			
	Selective Private Schools	Other Private Schools	Selective Public School	Other Public School
Teachers here are very interested in their students. % reporting True	92%	89%	97%	
The discipline here is effective. % reporting True	70%	78%	61%	
The discipline here is not fair. % reporting False	70%	71%	68%	
Many classes here are boring. % reporting False	68%	62%	72%	24%
Students having difficulty with their courses find it difficult to get help from teachers. % reporting False	92%	92%	92%	76%
In this school, teachers do not adjust assignments and projects to the individual student's interests. % reporting True	54%	52%	30%	68%
Teachers here encourage students to value knowledge for its own sake, rather than just for grades. % reporting True	81%	78%	81%	50%
	N = 1648	N = 631	N = 78	N = 429
TOTAL N = 2779				

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